/281 cont./

i) His social role.

756 626 The pajé represents the highest intellectual level of the native povoado, and, not only that, but he is also the stickler for the observance of the tribal laws. He knows them, teaches them, and demands their fulfillment, being able to punish (34),

> 34. He is, then, the major opponent of the assimilation of our culture on the part of the forest dweller.

with sicknesses, lightning, and, finally, malefices, disrespect toward traditional practices.

756 He presides over all social life, that of the family as well as of the group. When a child is born, the one who will blow on it, exorcise it, and paint it with carajurú /carajura/, in order that it will grow up strong and free from sicknesses, is the pajé; and he will also give the medicines to the woman in labor.

[852] [844]

[553] In some tribes the giving of the name is done in the presence of the pajé. Covering the child with smoke with his indispensable cigar, under the inspiration of the moment, he will give or will suggest the name to the father, who is about to choose a name indicated by any circumstance whatsoever, perhaps even an indecent name.

[881] When the girl reaches puberty, the pajé will spend some time with her, giving her timely theoretical and practical instructions about maternity and obligations inherent in it.

At the time of the masculine initiation, it falls to him to teach the young men the traditional legends, their rights and duties as members of the group, the ritual practices, and to verify their ability by means of interrogations, punishments, flagellations, fasts, etc.

He is also the principal instructor of the Komũ (see VII - 2, e (3)), on whose capacity he will pass judgment, and of whom he will always be the supervisor, gathering them together periodically in assembly and giving them opportune directions for every circumstance.

/294 cont./

*192 302 386 824 4th. --. The paintings are done with the color:

a) black obtained from the leaves of a plant called dyá-wé, known as jenipapo /genipap/, or from the shrub called we'é. From the decoction of the leaves of the jenipapo left in the open air there is produced a dark lotion which they use to color the hair when it is getting white. From the husk of the pod of the ingá laterifólia, they extract, also by maceration, a black color used for the designs on the stools.

/295/ b) The color red from the Õnõ̃ã́ or carajurú /carajura/ (51)

51. Carajurú (or crajurú, as Gonçalves Dias writes -- Relatório da Província do Amazonas, I, p. 766), also known as piranga or pariri, is a climber of the family of the Bignoniaceae (the Bignonia chica of Humboldt or arrabidaea chica of Verlot). From the dried leaves left in maceration for some days is deposited a red powder, insoluble in water, which is kept in calabashes and mixed with oil or hot resin when they want to paint. The painting with carajurú evidently has a magic character. Thus, it figures in the rite of the puberty initiation, and the pajé uses it to paint his own body and his objects when he is called to attend to some patient. They admit that, when "blown" by the pajé, the carajurú acquires an extraordinary prophylactic virtue; for this reason they use it to paint, with small circumferences, the face of the newly born children, and, afterwards, when a name is given to them and whenever there is sickness or fear of sickness.

[881] [755] [756] [852]

and from the Mõ'ãĩ or urucú (52).

52. The urucú (the bixa orellana or arbórea, Hub., of the family of the Bixaceae) is used, says Koch G. (Z. I. 448), with saliva, oil, or plant's milk; it is not as resistant as the color from the carajurú and fades in the light.

4: Silva--635 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/418 cont./

797 595 These licenses already existed in the historical period, as follows from the first explorers. The great revolt of the year 1757, during which the povoados of Moreira and Thomar were destroyed by the Indians, and that of Barcelos threatened, had its origin in the anger of the Indian Domingos Lamalonga, from whom the Missionary had made a concubine separate (cf. Xavier Sampaio, "Diario /Diary/," n. 553). On the map of his activities, dated from Cururú-cachoeira the first of April of 1853, Frei Gregório de Bene states: -- "It will be very difficult for some time to unite in Holy Matrimony and even to convert these Indians because they live in polygamy and others in concubinage" (Archivo do Amazonas, Vol. II, n. 2, p. 32). Even at the beginning of this century Koch Grünberg (Z. I. 178) testifies that polygamy is a prerogative of the tuxaua and cites the example of José, Tukano tuxaua of Pari-cachoeira, with two wives, one Tuyuka and the other Taryana.

595 622

7) Domestic-social position of the woman.

562 During an early contact with the natives of the Uaupés, we were surprised at the position of the woman, seeming to us to be of evident inferiority.

551 /419/ Her name might not even be known (24).

[852] [797]

24. It frequently happens that the Indian man may bring a child to be baptized. When, in order to make the registration, the Padre starts to ask the names and asks what the child's mother is called, the husband will answer: -- "I do not know, ask her."

There is observed in some human groups, for example, those of the river Canaburi (not, however, those of the Uaupés, see below, VIII-1, b (4)) a prohibition against pronouncing the name of some persons. Some explain this taboo of the name by the "ontological mentality" of the primitives, that is, the name is not something secondary, external, but essential, and is

/428 cont./

844 [608] Nevertheless, in the majority of cases, the mother will have invited another woman to assist her. The latter, as if she were the godmother of the parturient woman, acquires some rights over her: she will call her Max-kõã (goddaughter), and she, in turn, will call her Pax-koã (godmother) and must render her the services requested.

• [852] [276] In order to conjure away any evil for the newborn child, the pajé or a Komũ will come to "blow on it," and on its mother, with the smoke from his cigar, said Dorotéia Brito. As a preventive against sickness, he will mark the child's face with numerous, but small red spots with the magical substance carajurú /carajura/.

846 *[192] 3) Nihĩ-pkõ ("Couvade" or chôco /hatching/).

The chôco (Couvade) is in force among the tribes of the Uaupés (44).

44. From some legends of obvious patriarchalist origin it follows that the chôco did not always exist. And that it was the woman who used to take to the hammock during her discomfort. The narrator, Dorotéia Brito, at a certain point in the legend, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ added spontaneously that "formerly it was the woman who lay in the hammock."

[115]

844 [178] As soon as the child is born, the mother, with the help of the Pax-koã, cuts the umbilical cord. Formerly they did it by hitting it between two stones, nowadays with a cutting grass, the tiririca /Scleria tenacissima/, or a splinter of taquara, or /429/ even scissors (45).

[123] 45. The tuxaua of the Ídé-masã tribe of the headwaters of the Komé-ya, tributary of the Pirá-paraná, urgently asked us to bring him some scissors, whose usefulness he had heard mentioned, on our next visit.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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be a child's ceremony, for it is the acting out of a mythical incident that has great appeal to the children. The children explained the game, or ceremony, to me as follows. Some children were left orphaned by the death of their father and they lived alone with their mother, who had very little food to give them. When they asked their mother for food one day and she replied that she had nothing for them they ran out of the house. Immediately a great hole formed in the center of the house. The children sat outside on the branch of a tree and sang *hmm hmm hmm*. The next morning the children returned to the house and again asked for food. Now the mother gave them some stale cassava crumbs. They ate and returned to their tree branch. Now they began to grow feathers, and after four days they had become *taintürü* birds. They returned to the house and lived in the newly formed hole while the eldest brother flew off each day to fetch food for them. It is he who is captured by the *abúhuwa* but manages to escape so that he can return and look after his younger brothers and sisters. The *abúhuwa* customarily attack and seize children who are neglected or have been abandoned by their parents. They are dangerous, but they are also slow-witted and so can be eluded. Adults, it should be said, pay no attention to this or any other kind of children's game.

There is another game in which a little girl constructs a bower of palm leaves around herself and waits to be flushed out by a boy hunter. As for toys, the boys spin tops of fruits, they make cat's cradles, they walk on stilts, and they make a plaited snake that catches a finger and tightens when stretched. Among the *Hehénewa* Koch-Grünberg observed a ball game played with corn-husk balls (1909, II, 226 ff.). This game, played by older men, I did not observe among the *Bahúkiwa*.

PUBERTY

The Cubeo do not recognize an abrupt transition from childhood to adulthood in the case of boys. Male maturity is an individual matter to them, although past the age of 15 a boy will almost surely be drawn out of the pack into the adult world. Boys, however, are subject to growth magic from the time they enter the play pack until they leave it. An account of these rites is reserved for a later chapter. The ordeal of the stinging ants, a feature of puberty rites elsewhere in the region, occurs among the Cubeo during one of these rites.

Girls undergo digital defloration at the age of eight, I was told. An old man of the sib who is no longer virile is charged with this

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paúnwe bebíko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[3] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me see how much pain you can stand."

At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[3] She is also known as *nominyaiví* (becoming a woman).